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TOAST BY
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FOR LATIN AMERICAN HEADS OF DELEGATIONS AND PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS
AT THE
CENTER OF INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS
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In this decade the cardinal objective of United States foreign policy--over all the world--has been to create a tradition of cooperative international relations based on equality, mutual respect, and shared benefit. We have done so in the recognition that the world would not operate according to an American design and that the world's problems would not be solved by prescription. But more importantly, we have done so in the firm conviction that the community of nations has before it now an opportunity for unprecedented progress toward building a better world. And that a new structure of peace and progress could be constructed in which other nations felt a sense of participation, so that in forming it they could make it their own.

Nothing has been more central to our hopes than the relationships of the nations of this Hemisphere. It is a priceless foundation of past achievement; a vital and progressing process of present cooperation; and our brightest vision for the future of what like-minded nations can accomplish by working together.

We have sustained an awareness that our destinies are linked: by geography, culture, history and shared ideals.

For further information contact:

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We have achieved the crucial elements of successful cooperative effort: ours is a hemisphere of peace, in which problems are solved not by resort to international conflict or rhetorical confrontation, but by responsible discussion and negotiation conducted with a unique spirit of mutual regard and respect.

Our achievement is all the more durable and impressive because it has not been easily won. The United States, in its relationship with its sister republics in the Western Hemisphere, has gone through many cycles. There was a time when we unilaterally declared what foreign nations could do in the Western Hemisphere. Two generations ago we centered our relations around a good-neighbor policy based upon the principle of non-intervention in the internal or external affairs of another. The 1960's brought the Alliance for Progress in which, on the whole, the United States sought to develop a program for all of the Western Hemisphere.

In recent years we have, I believe, entered a new and exciting era in our relationships--bringing wider scope for diversity and openness. We are achieving a new and productive balance of responsibility and effort within the Americas. It is a time increasingly marked by consultation, cooperation, and brighter prospects for building stronger and more mutually beneficial relations in our hemisphere--and of making our advancement a model for the wider international progress among nations that our times so clearly demand.

It is to these ends that the President and his Administration vent our best efforts to intensify and strengthen the cooperation between Latin America and the United States.

That is why I have attended every session of the General Assembly of the OAS held since I became Secretary of State and that is why I have travelled twice to Latin America this year, and that is why I have held meetings with the Presidents and Chiefs of State of most nations of the hemisphere, and with virtually all the Foreign Ministers.

I have done so out of the conviction that the long and close ties among the countries of the New World now provide an unprecedentedly sound foundation upon which our nation can come together to work to solve the most compelling issues of our time.

My visits to ten of your countries this year have reaffirmed my conviction that we share that recognition; that we are moving ahead to adapt and advance our ties to meet the needs of our era.

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We have done much in the last three years:

-- Bilaterally, we have made special efforts to accommodate differences, to find areas of common interest rather than attempt to dictate to each other's policies. We have shown through practice that trade and investment can be promoted to mutual benefit. Our commitment to conciliation has led us to unprecedented negotiations, with Panama, and, on particular bilateral concerns, with Peru.

These intensified bilateral contacts, both formal and informal, are laying the groundwork for important multi-lateral progress on pressing international problems, from corporate conduct to cooperation for development, from narcotics to Law of the Sea.

-- Regionally, we have reaffirmed our commitment to the Organization of American States and to efforts to make it responsive to the concerns of all its members.

In Costa Rica 15 months ago, we ratified our support for the Rio Treaty as an instrument of collective security. At the OAS Genral Assembly last June, we confirmed the important role of the OAS in protecting human rights in maintaining regional peace--and we began to develop positive new forms of cooperation on trade and technology.

-- Globally, our countries have shown growing awareness of the need for a new era of economic relations between the nations of North and South. We have brought more than our individual perspectives on commodities, trade, debt and technology to the United Nations, UNCTAD and CIEC. By drawing on our special experience with the complexities of interdependence, we of the Americas are helping to define new and workable approaches to these vital issues, which require the best of our private as well as our public talents and energies. The United States is dedicated to cooperate in development throughout the world. But as we seek progress on a wider scale, we recognize our close and special ties to the nations of the Americas. We regard the concerns of this hemisphere as our first priority.

In all these areas, the record is one of practical case-by-case progress. We seek no sweeping solutions, we will not force our relations into a single mold or formula. It is a good record. It needs no flowery rhetoric to embellish it. The days of inflated claims and goals are over. Today, ours is a hemisphere of mutual confidence and growing cooperation for peace and progress.

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Yet it is in the nature of the unending challenge of foreign affairs that we can never solve all problems. And in this present era new issues constantly arise. We must, therefore, do all we can to ensure that problems we face are dealt with constructively, and that we work together to determine the future directions of our cooperation. This is why the processes of consultation we have recently emphasized among us are particularly important. Yet consultations without the broader framework of a shared vision could well become little more than sterile recountings of our respective limitations and problems.

We in this hemisphere have that shared vision.

Far more than any like region of the world, we are bound together by a common heritage. And yet we are not European. Our traditions and institutions have something new in them. Men were searching for it before they were sure there was an America. Columbus wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella that:

"Your Highnesses ordained that I should not go eastward by land in the usual manner but by the western way which no one about whom we have positive information has ever followed."

Columbus found his new western way. We who now inhabit the lands he discovered 484 years ago next week similarly are finding ways to the future that are both new and western.

Thus our hemisphere has for centuries symbolized man's readiness to grasp his own destiny, to set out upon uncharted ways in search of a better world.

Today that spirit is more alive--and more important than ever. But the challenges of our time require even more than boldness and readiness for tomorrow.

Ours is a time of complex uncertainty. We are called upon to reconcile fundamental philosophical dilemmas.

- We must pursue our commitment to great human equality without removing the incentives for individual initiative;
- We must preserve the security and independence of our nations without sacrificing the resources needed for economic development; and,
- We must learn to balance our need for social order with our responsibility to individual freedom.
We must vindicate our own commitment to human

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The tension between equality and initiative lies at the heart of our desires for a fair yet dynamic global system. In the United States, we emphasize the importance of a market economy based on an open play of economic forces. We believe growth depends importantly on individual entrepreneurship. Other nations emphasize the need for greater state intervention in their economies to ensure more equitable distribution of the fruits of growth.

These differing emphases in economic policy can frequently be significant, but they are not a cause for ponderous ideological confrontation. Each of our countries, to be successful, will have to find a route to special progress that does not end individual incentive. Not to strive for equality is to risk violent revolution; not to provide incentives is to risk decay.

Our mutual dependence, furthermore, requires us to extend our economic cooperation beyond our national borders. That is why we have held intensive bilateral consultations on the Geneva trade negotiations. That is why the United States has ratified its participation in commodity agreements for wheat, coffee and tin; why we have joined in producer-consumer consultations on copper in the past two weeks, and why we look forward to hemisphere consultations on sugar prior to the negotiations to take place next April.

Recent events have taught us all that global prosperity is indivisible; no nation can prosper alone. The challenge we face is to reconcile our often distinct but interacting dimensions of concern on the basis of respect and an open-minded assessment that differing approaches can offer common benefits.

There is a tensions well between the demands of security and development. We in the Americas have done far better than most regions of the world in avoiding armed conflict. In Latin America as a whole, defensive expenditures as a percentage of national income are the lowest of any regional in the world. These records are enviable. To maintain them in the face of the spiralling costs and offensive potential of modern military technology will require increased cooperation among potential antagonists as well as friends.

This is easier said than done. The need to cooperate with perceived adversaries in the restraint of defense expenditures provides no emotional satisfaction. But vast domestic expenditures are needed if we are to hope to fulfill the positive aspirations of our peoples. None of us in this room will see a time when there are enough resources to enable us to forego the necessity for choice.

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And finally, the balance between freedom and order is inherently tenuous and constantly changing. It will vary for each of us, in accordance with national traditions and historical circumstances.

But all of our nations were founded to protect human freedom and dignity. Man is the measure of all our effort. This Hemisphere is the world's laboratory of human freedom, the just and ultimate refuge of the rights of man. We must not turn away from what is best in our own tradition. If we deny these principles in the search for growth and stability, we hazard the very foundations of our national existence, and what is most precious to our common experience.

There are tensions that no nation or group of nations can ever fully resolve, of course, tensions which are inherent in the conduct of public affairs. In our time, they pose special challenges. Each nation must find its own equilibrium. But there is much we must do together to enhance, protect and further respect for human rights in the Americas.

And as we cooperate to resolve these discrepancies of the human relationship, we must also engage together the immediate material needs before us. Our concrete, common problems are real enough, and our cooperative response can do as much as anything to forward all our hopes for a dynamic, secure and just future for all our peoples.

Several proposals made in the last General Assembly of the OAS in Santiago provide a basis for new forms of cooperation. These proposals establish our regional agenda for the coming year. They include mechanisms for:

- financing basic resource development;
- increasing agricultural productivity;
- facilitating social and infrastructural projects in middle as well as low income developing countries; and,
- improving the development, adaptation and transfer of technology.

Our best effort will be needed to develop these proposals in a manner worthy of our common potential in the next half year. We must insure that the Special General Assembly on Development and the companion Special General Assembly on the Structure of the OAS are the culmination of our common efforts.

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The international scene today is marked by shifting constellations of problems, tensions, and opportunities. We in our hemisphere experience them in as great a range and intensity as any group of nations on earth.

In the last few years we have, I believe, astutely perceived the problems, the opportunities, and the foundations upon which we can build. And we have begun to go forward--not on the wings of inflated rhetoric and unrealistic goals, but maturely, responsibly and practically.

The world is aware of our work. In a time when international cooperation is an imperative for each nation, we can be assured that all will closely monitor those from whom the most progress can be expected--those whose shared experience, values and outlook are the moral origin of a unique intimacy and a unique potential for progress.

Let us resolve to continue to go forward. Not just for this year and next--but to make our work together a model for the world for the rest of this century.

Gentlemen, I offer a toast to the future of inter-American cooperation.

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